AURANGZEB'S SECOND VICEROYALTY OF THE DECCAN

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C H A P T E R I

CONDITIONS AND THE REFORMS IN DECCAN

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CONDITIONS AND THE REFORMS IN DECCAN

Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty of the Deccan (1653-58) is memorable for the reconstruction and re-settlement in the Mughal subas of the Deccan. It also displayed the administrative talents and capabilities of Aurangzeb as well as his military skill, tact and dashing courage. It was during this period that the re-settlement of the Deccan and the extension of Raja Todar Mal's revenue system was effected in the Deccan. Civil administration was overhauled and geared out, cultivation was encouraged, peasants were rehabilitated, loans were granted to the ryots for boosting agricultural production and the army organisation and military potential made more efficient and effective. During his tenure of viceroyalty Aurangzeb invaded Golkunda and Bijapur and augmented his resources. The city of Aurangabad with its numerous buildings owes its development and grandure to Aurangzeb's administration in the Deccan.

Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of Deccan by Shah Jahan in Afghanistan on 17th July 1652[1] while he was

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1. Tarikh-i-Shah Jahan by Mohd. Sadiq Khan, f. 169b.

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returning from the Qandhar expediton. He reached Narbada on 1st Jan. 1653 and encamped Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, while repairs were being made to the palace of Burhanpur.[2] He stayed for three months in Burhanpur and then left for Aurangabad and entered the fort of Daulatabad on 25 November. Aurangabad[3] was found by Aurangzeb on the site of Malik Ambar's Khirki during his first viceroyalty of Deccan and was made the Capital of the Mughal Deccan. Aurangzeb built a big palace close to the tank of Malik Ambar and moved to the new city where his begum Dilras Bano died and was laid to rest. On his accession he built her mausoleum on the model of Taj Mahal. Other important buildings built during Aurangzeb's viceroyalty were the big Jama Masjid and the Alamgiri Mahal.

The period intervening between Aurangzeb's first and the second viceroyalties of the Deccan was of decay, maladministration inefficiency and deficits. Agriculture had languished and much cultivated land was turned into waste land, the peasants had left their occupations and revenue had fallen off due to neglect and

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1. Ruqa'at-i-'Alamgiri of Aurangzeb collected by S. Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Ruqaat. No. 16/48

3. Travels in India by J.B. Tavernier, translated by V. Ball, vol. I, p. 146.

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default on the part of administration. It was partly due to the frequent changes of the governors.[4] Tenures and the incompetent viceroys were responsible to a large extent for the decline in the prosperity of the Deccan. Khan-i Dauran,[5] Islam Khan Mashhadi,[6] Shah Nawaz Khan, Prince Murad,[7] Shaista Khan[8] and for some time Raja Jai Singh as acting governor, had served in the Deccan as governors. During the course of eight years, there were six viceroys till Aurangzeb again took over as viceroy in 1653. During these short viceroyalties the Mughal Deccan had suffered mismanagement, confusion, financial strain and succession of bad crops and agricultural calamities.[9] The result was that the actual realization of revenue in the Deccan fell far below the standard estimates. Though the revenue of the four provinces of the Deccan was estimated at three crore sixty-two lakhs of rupees per annum but according to the Badshah-nama of Lahori the actual realization in 1658 was only one crore, that is even less than one-third of

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4. They were Khan-i-Dauran (May 1644-June 55); Jai Singh (officiated till 17th July 1645); Islam Khan (July 1645-Nov. 1647); Shah Nawaz Khan (officiated till July 1648); Prince Murad Bakhsh (July 1648-Sept. 1649) and Shaista Khan (Sept.1649-Sept. 1652).
5. Maasir-ul-Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan, vol. I, pp. 749-758.
6. Islam Khan was a very old man, incapable of riding a horse (Maasir-ul-Umara, vol. I, pp. 162-67)
7. Waris, f. 19b.
8. Waris, f. 38a.
9. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 166; Adab-i Alamgiri by Munshi-ul- Mumalik Sheikh Abul Fatah Qabil Khan Thathwi, f. 30b.

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the estimate.[10]

The continued deficit of the Mughal Deccan provinces was a strain on the imperial treasury. As the income from these provinces could not meet the expenditure, the deficit had become normal feature. The attempt on the part of Khan-i Dauran[11] to send surplus income to the Emperor by making heavy exactions on the cultivators and imposing extortionate payments from the ryots had made the countryside desolate and ruined. Instead of serving the imperial interest this viceroy had brought ruin to the peasants and agriculture. In view of these difficulties and circumstances in the Deccan, Shah Jahan had given instructions to Aurangzeb to improve and extend cultivation and enhance the revenue resources of the Deccan,[12] so that it should not remain a burden on the imperial treasury but should be self-sufficient in its requirements and expenditure

On assuming the government of the Mughal Deccan Aurangzeb found that the actual realisation of revenue was some time one-tenth of the normal assessment. In his letters

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10. Badshah Nama by Abdul Hamid Lahori, Vol. II, p. 712.
11. Badshah Nama, Vol. II, p. 376, 426.
12. In the letter in which he (Shah Jahan) quoted the saying of a wise-man he expressed the hope that Aurangzeb will atleast bring prosperity to the Deccan. Aurangzeb and His Times by Zaheeruddin Faruki, p. 9; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 23b; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, p. 756.

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to the Emperor, Aurangzeb complains of the mismanagement prevalent in both Baglana and Painghat.[13] Aurangzeb's financial difficulties were great indeed. There was an annual deficit of rupees twenty lakh thirty-six thousand which was made good by taking from the several treasuries of the Deccan. In two years the cash balance in these treasuries fallen from 80,60,000 rupees to rupees 40,50,000.[14] Aurangzeb was perturbed at this reduction of the treasury balance in such a frontier province. His officers were also clamouring for better jagirs in lieu of the Jagirs held by them.[15] In this state of financial deficits and confusion, Aurangzeb suggested a remedy to Shah Jahan by writing to him that this deficit of $2^1/3$ lakh should be met from jagirs yielding equivalent sum of rupees and such jagirs should be turned into khalisa.[16] To compensate these jagirdars, Aurangzeb proposed that jagirs, inpart, should be given to him and his high officers in other provinces and the cash portion of his salary should be paid from the treasuries of Malwa and Surat.[17] But Shah Jahan allowed Aurangzeb to

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13. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 30b.
14. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 30a.
15. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 24b, 31a.
16. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/36, 12/68
17. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 28a.

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exchange his own unproductive fiefs for more productive ones of his jagirdars. Aurangzeb did not take the fiefs of his competent officers but took those incompetent or minor officers.

As regards the other demand of Aurangzeb in regard to the cash portion of his salary being made a charge on the treasuries of Malwa and Surat, Shah Jahan made a negative reply but allowed the prince to take productive mahals of the Deccan either from the crown land or from the fiefs of his officers. Aurangzeb asked for Elichpur and Ankot,[18] but the Emperor took into account the standard revenue of these two districts while making a reduction from his cash allowance. Thereupon, Aurangzeb, who knew that the actual realization from these districts much less, insisted on the old cash payment. In 1654, Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb twenty-five lakhs of rupees from the treasuries of Malwa and for the remaining five lakhs he was given some fiefs in Nanderbar but the actual realization from these fiefs was rupees ninety-two thousand only. In consequence of this controversy the relations between father and son got strain and the correspondence which

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1. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff, 28a, 29a.

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followed to the Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb is a pointer to the bitterness of feelings between them.[19]

Aurangzeb was urged on by Shah Jahan to extend cultivation and enhance the revenues of the Deccan. Aurangzeb had doubled the revenue of many mahals in three years,[20] yet the Emperor censured him for the delay the extension of the cultivation and increasing the population of the region.

REVENUE AND FINANCIAL REFORMS:

Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty marked a new memorable period in the history of land settlement in the Deccan. The Mughal Deccan was divided into two regions----the Painghat (low lands) comprising Khandesh and one-half of the Berar, and Balaghat (high lands) comprising the other 2½ subas. The Diwan of Painghat at this time was Multafat Khan[21] and the Diwan of Balaghat was Murshid Quli Khan[22] who was an administrative genius. He became the Diwan of entire Mughal Deccan in 1656.[23] He introduced his revenue reforms in Balaghat first and won the admiration and deep

19. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 33b, 37b.
20. Adab-i-Alamgiri, pp. 20a-b, 32a.
21. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 502.
22. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 6/54.
23. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/57.

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confidence of Aurangzeb.

The Deccan had no regular revenue system. The plough system was in vague there. Ain-i-Akbari refers to the prevalence of Nasq system in Berar.[24] But Sadiq Khan mentions that crop-sharing and measurement were unknown to the Deccan provinces since ancient times.[25] He further writes, "On the contrary the established practice was that each of the villagers and peasants tilled as much land as he could with a plough and pair of oxen and grew what crop he liked, whether grains, or pot herbs, and paid to the authorities (sarkar) a little money on each plough, varying with the territory and the parganas; and there was no further enquiry about or regard paid to, the quality of crop.[26]

Murshid Quli Khan thoroughly realised the dis-advantages of the plough system and attempted to replace it by other systems. Firstly, the system of crop-sharing was tried. In the letters of Aurangzeb, there is clear mention of this system being applied to the entire territory of the Mughal Deccan including the

24. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 478.
25. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, MS ff. 181a-b.
26. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, ff. 181a-b; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 497.

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jagirs of the nobles.[27] But his brand of the system of crop-sharing was different from that known to Northern India. Moreland calls it the type of "differential sharing" and holds it to be derived from Persian experience in administration.[28] According to this system a differential scale was applied to the revenue of various lands in regard to irrigation facilities. From the crop grown on rainfall one-half of the produce was taken by the state; from the crops irrigated from wells one-third was taken but in the case of sugarcane, fruits and spices, the share of the state varied one-third to one-fourth, keeping in view the cost of irrigation and as regards the fruits the time of ripening of the fruits was taken into consideration. Crops grown with canal irrigation had different rates.[29] According to the statement of Sadiq Khan, the old system of plough assessment was retained in some regions.[30]

At a subsequent stage Murshid Quli Khan introduced the system of measurement as the basis of assessment.[31]

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27. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 35a-36a, 38b, 43a, 118a; Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 6/54, 7/55, 1/57, 14/100.
28. Agrarian System of Moslem India, Moreland, p. 186.
29. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, I, pp. 731-36; Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, ff. 182a-b; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 497-98.
30. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 182b.
31. Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, Bhim Sen Burhanpuri, MS., f. 7a.

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Aurangzeb relates in his letters that the crop-sharing system was very expensive,[32] so, Murshid Quli Khan measured the areas of most of the parganas.[33] Murshid Quli Khan took pains to perform the Job under his personal supervision to check partiality, injustice and corruption." "This honest and God-fearing Diwan often dragged the measuring chain with his own hands."[34] Consequently, in Berar and Aurangabad 90% of the villages and in Khandesh 50% had been measured.[35] Murshid Quli Khan determined the rai or corp-rate for every crop and fixed dasturs per bigha. So with the reforms of Murshid Quli Khan, measurement was extensively taken in the Deccan. Under the system introduced by Murshid Quli Khan, the revenue at the fixed rate of so many rupees per bigha was assessed, actual sown area was measured, the quality and the quantity of the crop from the seed time to harvest and the market price of the produce were all taken into consideration in the matter of assessment.[36] It was named Jarib or survey system. The system continued for centuries and was known in the

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32. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 38b, 118a. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102.
33. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 181a.
34. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 496.
35. Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, f. 7a; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 424; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 42.
36. Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, p. 496.

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Deccan as "the dhara of Murshid Quli Khan."[37] As regards the mode of payment, the new system established the payment in cash.[38]

Murshid Quli Khan called back the ryots, who had given up cultivation, and populated the villages and appointed honest and efficient officers to boost agriculture.[39] Amins and Muqaddams appointed by him, were brought under strict control. Care was taken that honest Amins should be appointed. Holdings were measured, marked out and recorded. Arable and rocky lands were distinguished. In case of the death of a village head man (Muqaddam) care was taken that his successor should be a man of honesty, integrity and one who would encourage cultivation.

Peasants in distressed circumstances were granted taqavi loans for the purchase of bullocks, buffaloes and other necessities of cultivation.[40] These loans were recovered in instalments. Multafat Khan, the assistant of Murshid Quli Khan, proposed to realise the advance within

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37. History of Aurangzeb by Sir J. Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 194.
38. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 181b; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I, p. 732.
39. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 182a; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I, p. 731.
40. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 182a.

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two years.[41] Multafat Khan advanced loans of Rs. 40,000 to 50,000 as taqavi from the imperial treasury for financing the construction of dams (bandhs) in the subas of Khandesh and Berar to irrigate low-lying lands.[42]

The reforms of Murshid Quli Khan resulted in prosperity of the region; improvement of agriculture, rehabilitation of the people and increase of revenue in the Mughal Deccan. Bhim Sen stated that in 1658, there was not a single piece of waste land near Aurangabad, wheat and pulse were sold at 2½ maunds a rupee, Jawar and bajra at 3½ maunds a rupee, molasses at half a maund and yellow oil at four rupees.[43]

REFORMS IN MILITARY ADMINISTRATION:

Aurangzeb was always considerate towards the able and honest officers and supported them in their legitimate demands.[44] The Emperor had issued a regulation (dābtāh-i dagh) that every military officer posted in Deccan was to bring his contingent to the muster, where the horses would be branded.[45] This was a proper step to check the real

41. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 53a.
42. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 53a.
43. Nuskha-i-Dilkhusha, f.
44. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 26b, 24a & b, 25b.
45. Badshah Nama, Lahori, Vol. I, p. 188.

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quantity of the horses maintained by the officers who were posted in Deccan; if the officers had less than the number assigned to him he would be required to return the excess money which he charged. This order was very sound in principle but Aurangzeb took a realistic step against this regulation saying this order would bring hardship to the officers who were posted in the Deccan.[46] Because the Deccan was not in a normal condition. Evidently, the officers could not realise their normal pay from their jagirs, some of them were not able even to take their possessions in these jagirs. Obviously, they were mainly depended upon their cash salaries, which were paid to them from the fund of Daulatabad treasuries. If they would be forced to refund the excess money, their condition would become more worst what it had been. This would naturally effect the strength and efficiency of the army of the Mughal Deccan which had two powerful states on its borders, who were friendly by no means to the Mughals.[47]

Another defect which was pointed out in the dāgh regulation, was the reduction of the troopers pay from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 17/- and Rs. 15/- per month.[48] Central Government had taken this step to lessen the burdon of heavy

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46. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 29b.

47. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 29b.

48. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 196.

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expenditure on the administration. But Aurangzeb protested against it that no horseman could carry on himself in a 'proper fighting trim.' The Prince was more emphatic in explaining dangers of the enforcement of this regulation.[49] Most of them had been receiving Rs. 32/- per month from the previous years and they had got not as much money of their horse branded as they should have done. So, evidently, a large sum, in the form of balance was, still in their names in the official records. If the imperial regulation was to enforce, these sums were to be realised from the jagirs. So the conditions of these jagirs would have been more worst than prevailing in the region. The officers in the Deccan were not in a position to retain their horses in full strength. This was purely a risk, because the provincial government wanted law and order in the region. Realising the facts, Shah Jahan accepted the arguments of Aurangzeb and ceased to regulate the regulations in the Deccan and did not reduce the pay of the soldiers appointed in Deccan.[50]

Besides revenue and finance, Aurangzeb wanted to improve the conditions of his artillary. Mir Khalid,[51] who was a capable officer, was appointed Dārogha-i-Topkhāna in 1650. He took measures to eradicate the prfvailing abuses in artillary. He remained at his post only for one

49. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 35a, 97a.
50. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 29b, 35a, 97a.
51. Maasir-ul-Umara Vol. I, pp. 785-88.

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year. He visited almost every fort of the province and found them in state of neglect. He provided them the needful provisions and stores.[52] He made the musketeers to undergo a test; he made a target and gave a chance to every body to shoot with his matchlock from a distance of forty paces.[53] Those who could not hit the mark even once, were removed from the service.[54] Similarly the old men, who were incapable in handling the job, were put on pensions. By these efforts, he improved the efficiency and the capability of the artillery and the garrison with the savings of Rs. 50,000 per year.[55] Aurangzeb was highly pleased with capability and the caliber of Mir Khalil and as a mark of his appriciation, he was appointed the Qiladār of Fatehābād, which was an important fort at the frontier.[56] Mir Khalil was succeeded by Hushdār Khān and his successor was Multafat Khan.[57]

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52. Maasir-ul-Umara Vol. I, pp. 786-87.
53. Maasir-ul-Umara Vol. I, pp. 786-87; Badshah Nama, Waris f. 79b.
54. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 27b, 30b, 39b.
55. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 5/53, 7/55, 11/97.

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C H A P T E R II

AURANGZEB AND GOLKONDA

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AURANGZEB AND GOLKONDA

Golkonda was a prosperous country;[1] the land was fertile and carefully irrigated having a large and industrious population.[2] Haidrabad, the Capital of the kingdom, was the centre of diamond trade, famous all over the world. Tradesmen assembled here from far and near. Masulipattam,[3] the best harbour and port in the Bay of Bengal, was also a source of income of Golkonda.[4] The forests of Golkonda, were famous for the breed of costly elephants. Tobacco and Toddy Juices were also to increase the income of Golkonda.[5] Consequently, Golkonda was a prosperous kingdom, during the period under review.[6]

The Deccan problem was a perpetual source of diversence in the Mughal foreign policy. After a long period of conflict,[7] peace was settled with Bijapur and Golkonda

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1. This description is based on Travels in India, Tavernier, I, pp. 150-58, 175, 274; History of the Deccan by B.D. Cribble, I, p. 269; Adabi-Alamgiri, ff. 37b, 46b, 50a.
2. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 18/104
3. A Few Letters of Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla Relating to Karnatik Affairs, by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar in JBRS II June 1944, p. 167, Letter No. 15. (Letter from Qutub Shah to Futullah Beg, Havaldar of Masulipattam).
4. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, Sir J. Sarkar. p.212.
5. Travels in India, Vol. I, J.B. Tavernier, p. 158.
6. Tavernier praises for the prosperity and fertility of Golkonda.
7. Imperialistic policy of the Mughals had been started from the reign of Akbar.

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in 1636. But in 1656, Aurangzeb, during his second viceroyalty of Deccan, attacked the kingdom, because the Sultan had violated the peace terms patched in 1636. Aurangzeb had frequent causes, under one pretext to the other, to go against the Sultan.

The Sultan of Golkonda had not taken the permission of the Mughal Emperor, his overlord, for the conquest of Karnatik.[8] The whole of Karnatik covering the territory below Krishna upto Tanjore, was divided into a number of "petty principalities, the jaring fragment of the ruined empire of Vijay Nagar."[9] In the treaty of 1636, a line of demarcation was drawn between the boundaries of Bijapur, Golkonda and the Mughal empire,[10] because, it was obvious, to be checked their expansion in the north, so the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda started a race of the encroachment of their boundaries in Karnatik. Evidently, Sri Ranga Rayal, the King of Karnatik petitioned Aurangzeb for help and demanded political asylum in the imperial court.[11] In his petition, Sri Ranga Rayal had written that

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8. Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda by Yar Mohammad Khan in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 7, Pt. II, 1959, p. 91.
9. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, Sir J. Sarkar, p. 214.
10. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Vol. I, B. pp. 170-74.
11. Mir Jumla, after his wrangle with the King of Golkonda, made ally with Sri Ranga Rayal, when the Mir was in his Jagir in Karnatik, and advised him to approach the Mughals. Life of Mir Jumla, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, p. 62.

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the Emperor "should incorporate his state into the protected territories" and ordered the Deccani Sultans not to raid his country, "he would pay fifty lakhs of huns, twenty elephants, precious jewels, as annual tribute, together with gifts."[12] He added in his conclusion that, "if his being an unbeliever stood in the path of this assistance.....he would embrace Islam with all his dependants."[13] The petition of Sri Ranga Rayal was strongly recommended by Aurangzeb and forwarded to the Imperial Court.[14] The Emperor, in response asked Aurangzeb to send an envoy to the Court of Sri Ranga Rayal; if his request was genuine. So, Aurangzeb sent Mohammad Mumin to Sri Ranga Rayal.[15] But, in the meanwhile, Bijapur and Golkonda approached the Imperial Court and got the consent of the Emperor to capture the territories of Karnatak in lieu of precious presents (nadhars).[16] So, now, the Emperor started to criticize the policy of Aurangzeb, for sending his man to the court of Sri Ranga Rayal against the Deccani states saying that the act of Aurangzeb was not proper. And the Emperor had done this with the view to frighten them and thereby to get handsome presents.[17]

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12. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 31a-33b.
13. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/84.
14. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 6/54, 1/84, 2/85, 3/86; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 33b, 34b.
15. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/86.
16. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 44a-b.
17. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/6.

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Although the Emperor rebuked the Prince, yet he forgot that he himself gave the order for an envoy to be sent to the king of Karnatak. Consequently, as a consequence of the step of the Emperor he wrote that the Sultans had plundered and looted the Karnatak but did not send anything to the court out of the vast booty.[18] In political diplomacy it was not proper to ignore the request of the Raja for asylum in the Imperial Court. He was ready to pay a handsome peshkash, alongwith elephants, and jewels.. In addition to this, he was even agreed to embrace Islam. When Aurangzeb, pointed out this fact,[19] the Emperor tried to defend his cause that Adil Shah had sent a rare elephant. Aurangzeb's answer is considerable, when he wrote to the Emperor that out of a vast booty Adil Shah had sent only one elephant and he was really fortunate that the Emperor had accepted his rare present.[20] Aurangzeb taunted that perhaps, the elephant, which was sent by Adil Shah was more valuable than the offer of Sri Ranga Rayal;[21] now Aurangzeb had to write a letter to Qutbul Mulk which was quite contradictory of his previous relations.[22]

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18. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 54b-55b.
19. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 31a-33b.
20. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff 34b.
21. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/69.
22. Some tension was sprang between Aurangzeb and the king of Golkonda in his expansion in Karnatik.

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The only impact of this confused policy of the Emperor, upon the minds of the Sultans, was that they (Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda) ignored the viceroy of Deccan. It had become their belief that, the only favour of Dara in the Imperial Court, was necessary to gain their motives.[23] Consequently, they violated the conditions which they agreed in the treaties of 1636.

The king of Golkonda had promised to pay two lakhs of huns, yearly as a tribute to the Imperial Government.[24] Though the country was wealthy and prosperous, Qutbul Mulk had not paid the tribute and the money had gone to arrears. The Emperor seeing the tribute in a huge amount in arrears allowed him to pay half of the tribute in cash and rest in elephants,[25] now, Aurangzeb arrived in Deccan, for the second time, in 1653, he adopted a stern attitude towards Quthb Shah and asked him either to clear the arrears or to cede any part of his territory.[26] But the Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah remained unmoved in spite of the repeated reminders

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23. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119; Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda by Yar Mohd. Khan, JPMS. Vol. 7, Pt. II, 1959, p. 96.
24. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori, I B. pp. 130-35.
25. Both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb had suggested easy methods of its payment but Qutub Shah did not heed. Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda by Yar Mohammad Khan JPHS Vol. 7 Pt. II, 1959, p. 92.
26. History of Shah Jahan by Banarsi Prasad Saxena, p. 180.

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both from the Emperor and the Aurangzeb.[27] Increase in the exchange value of hun was also one of the cause of non-payment of the tribute by the king of Golkonda.[28] In 1636, when the treaty was signed, the exchange value of a hun was Rs. 4/-,[29] but in 1653 the rate of exchange between rupee and hun increased upto Rs. 5/- for a hun.[30] Obviously, Qutub Shah had to pay 10 lakhs of rupees per year instead of 8 lakhs. Aurangzeb was also asking for the tribute with increasing value.[31] So, he remained unmoved in spite of repeated warnings of Aurangzeb.[32]

Two terms were more in the treaty of 1636 which were violated by the king of Golkonda. Firstly, the names of the first four Caliphs and the name of the Mughal Emperor would be added in the Khutba of Golkonda,[33] and secondly, the coin of the kingdom would also be struck in the name of Mughal Emperor.[34] Having taken the advantage of the situation

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27. During his governorship of Deccan, Shaista Khan had reminded to the tribute (arrears) to Abdullah Qutub Shah. History of Shah Jahan by B.P. Saxena, p. 180; Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda by Yar Mohammad Khan in JPHS Vol. 7, pt. II, 1959, p. 92.
28. Badshah Nama, Waris II, f. 113a.
29. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 56a.
30. Badshah Nama, Waris II, f. 113a.
31. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 9/95.
32. Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda by Yar Mohammad Khan in JPHS. Vol. 7, pt. II, p. 92.
33. Aurangzeb had written to Shah Jahan about the tyranny of Qutbul Mulk, the cry of the subject of Haidrabad, his unsunni activities and his policy of sending yearly tribute to Persia. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 18/104.
34. History of Shah Jahan by B.P. Saxena, p. 176.

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at the Imperial Court, and the Emperor's deteriorated relations with Aurangzeb, the Sultan of Golkonda gave up both the practices. He started the Calumniation of the Sahabas (Prophet's companions). He again re-established his relations with the Safavide Shah of Persia.[35] The Sultan had given up to struck the name of the Emperor on the one side of the coins and to recite the name in the Khutba also.[36] Consequently, the contradiction had been arisen upto the second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb in Deccan, between the King and the Emperor. In such a condition a new incident occured which paved way for the contest of the swords.

The incident, which led the Mughals to take sword against Golkonda, was the wrangle between Abdullah Qutub Shah, the king of Golkonda and Mir Jumla,[37] his Prime Minister. Mir Mohammad Said, afterwards known Mir Jumla, was the resident of Isphahan, he came to Deccan in 1630 and soon attracted the attention of Abdullah Qutub

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35. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 18/104.

36. Prince Aurangzeb: A study by Dr S. Moinul Haq in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. X, 1962, pp. 196-7.

37. Maasir-ul-Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan, Vol. III, pp. 550-55.

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Shah[38] and the latter appointed him as his Prime Minister. Being a capable officer, he soon wielded his influence over the court.[39] At this time Karnatak was the target of the encroachment of Bijapur and Golkonda. The Sultan of Golkonda sent Mir Jumla to conquer Karnatak.[40] In the Karnatak, Mir Jumla showed his ability and the valour and occupied some strongest fortresses and thereby, amassed a great wealth and Jagir for himself.[41] He was supposed to be the richest man of Deccan of that time.[42] The phenominal rise in the position and wealth of Mir Jumla, created suspicion in the mind of Sultan, furthermore, the enemies of Mir Jumla did not let lose an opportunity to poison the ears of Qutub Shah against the former.[43]

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38. Hadiqat-ul-Alam by Mir Alam Translated in Marathia under the title गोवळकोंड्याची कुतबशाही by V.C. Bandry, p. 89-90.

39. Badshah Nama, Waris II, f. 312a: Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Sabih Kambo, III, p. 213; Hadiqat-ul-Alam tr. by V.C. Bandrey, pp. 89-90.

40. Travels in India by T.B. Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 273, 259.

41. A Few Letters of Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla, by J.N. Sarkar in JBRS II, 1944, Letter No. 12, pp. 165-66.

42. Travels in Mughal Empire by Bernier, p. 18; Travels in India, by Tavernier, I, p. 170n; Storia do Moger by N. Manucci, I. P. 223.

43. Tavernier, I, p. 165.

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Being a shrewd politician Mir Jumla already having anticipated his ill prospects for the future at Golkonda court started his negotiations with the courts of Bijapur,[44] Persia[45] and he also requested for political asylum at the Mughal Court,[46] through the Imperial envoy then at Golkonda.[47] Aurangzeb informed the Emperor about the wrangle between Mir Jumla and Qutub Shah.[48] He advised Emperor to protect Mir Jumla.[49] But at the same time, Dara was trying to persuade the Emperor not to offer any assistance to Mir Jumla because he was bound under the 'ahads' (treaties) of 1636, according to which he could not reduce any of the officers of the Sultans.[50] Contradictory to this, the administrative qualities, the successful military career and the wealth and resources of Mir Jumla attracted both the Emperor and Aurangzeb to win over Mir Jumla.[51] Both, Aurangzeb

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44. A Few Letters of Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla by J.N. Sarkar, Letters Nos. 3, 4, 5 in JBRS II, 1944, pp. 175-76.

45. Ruqa'at-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 15/71, 18/104.

46. Badshah-Nama, Waris, II, p. 312; Khafi Khan I, pp. 740-41. 1.

47. Life of Mir Jumla, J.N. Sarkar, p. 66.

48. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 339.

49. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 33a-b; Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 11/67.

50. Life ofMir Jumla, J.N. Sarkar, p. 67.

51. According to Tavernier, Mir Jumla had written to Prince Shuja for the first time but he did not receive a favourable reply. Travels in India, Tavernier I, p. 166.

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and Dara had failed in recapturing Qandhar, Shah Jahan, therefore, wanted to appoint Mir Jumla to lead the fourth proposed expedition to revive the lost Imperial prestige.[52] Aurangzeb, on the other hand, planned to win over the Mir together with his enormous wealth and army to his side for future.[53] In spite of Dara's opposition, Aurangzeb got the request of Mir Jumla approved by the Emperor.[54] Aurangzeb, atonce, directed Mohammad Mumin, in the way to Karnatak, to assure Mir Jumla about the Imperial protection.[55] For fear, that Mir Jumla might not join the Mughals, Qutbul Mulk recalled him to court with delusive flattery.[56] The idea, behind the recall, was to arrest Mir Jumla.[57] Somehow, the evil intention of Qutub Shah became known to Mir Jumla, he escaped and reached Karnatak in his own jagir.[58] In the meantime, Mohammad Amin, son of Mir Jumla assured the Mughal envoy, that his father would join the Mughals provided he was to receive due favours which he deserved.[59] Meanwhile,

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52. Storia do mogor, Manucci I, pp. 228-29.

53. Storia do Mogor Manucci I, p. 227.

54. Badshah Nama, Waris II, p. 312.

55. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/69.

56. Ruqaat-i Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/69.

57. Tavernier says that Qutbul Mulk was proposed to poison Mir Jumla, by his courtiers. Travels in India I, p. 165.

58. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 15/71; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f.35a.

59. Ruqaat-i Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/86.

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the secret of Mir Jumla was disclosed.[60] Now it was obvious to Aurangzeb to ask Mir Jumla, through Mohammad Mumin, to join the Mughal services openly.[61] On the other hand, the king of Golkonda or the Deccani states did not like Mir Jumla joining the Mughals; it could weaken them and strengthen the Mughals. Consequently, they made their efforts to appease Mir Jumla.[62] Now the position of Mir Jumla was strong. Mohammad Mumin met Mir Jumla in his jagir and sent the report to Aurangzeb.[63] Aurangzeb wrote to his father that Mir Jumla was not so much interested in offering, himself, for the Imperial service.[64] Aurangzeb wrote to his father that "it appears", that "this intention is not from the care of the heart.[65] As he had held over the populous kingdom, containing forts, ports and mines, besides a strong army, ample resources and able officers, he has not reconciled himself with his old master and has also refused service to Bijapur."[66] Aurangzeb adds, "his profession of submission to Imperial Court is a matter of policy and so long as he can dexteriously avert the hostility of the

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60. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 36b, 40a.
61. Life of Mir Jumla by J.N. Sarkar, pp. 68-9.
62. Life of Mir Jumla by J.N. Sarkar, pp. 68-69.
63. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/88.
64. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 2/88.
65. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 39a.
66. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 2/88.

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two Sultans he will not leave the country and turn to any other place.[67]

But how long this policy could be prolonged, as the consequence of the policy of Mir Jumla, both the Sultans (Bijapur and Golkonda) became angry with the double dealer and joined their forces to crush him.[68] Now, Mir Jumla realised his difficulty, because his family and property was in Golkonda while he himself was in his jagir in Karnatak. He, therefore, started negotiations with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb conveyed the whole situation to the Emperor and wrote that Mir Jumla had strong hopes of getting protection from the Imperial Court because he had no other source to safeguard himself against the supression of the Deccan Sultans.[69] The Emperor allowed Aurangzeb to invite Mir Jumla with his son to join the Imperial services.[70] And the Emperor sent Mohammad 'Arif Kashmiri with an offer of a mansab of 5000 to Mir Jumla and a mansab of 2000 for his son Mohammad Amin.[71] Meanwhile, somehow, Mohammad Amin was arrested alongwith the family and property

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67. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 39a.
68. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/90.
69. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 36b, 40a.
70. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 15/10.
71. Badshah Nama, Waris II, p. 312; Amal-i Salih, Kambo III, p. 213; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, Bhim Sen 12a.

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of Mir Jumla.[72] Aurangzeb requested Shah Jahan to write to the king of Golkonda to set the property and family of Mir Jumla free alongwith his son, because they both, father and son, were now under the shield of protection of the Imperial Government.[73] According to Bernier, Mir Jumla had written to Aurangzeb, to pay Rs. 50,000/- per day during the expedition against Golkonda, for the maintenance of the expenditure.[74] Consequently, Aurangzeb, suggested the Emperor to launch an expedition against Golkonda, either in his own commandantship or under the commandantship of his son Prince Sultan Muhammad.[75] Aurangzeb posted a contingent in the fort of Qandhar, from Jatya, which was in the midway between Aurangabad and Golkonda under Hadi Dad Khan.[76] Aurangzeb was also ordered to write to Qutbul Mulk to release

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72. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan I, pp. 740-41; Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, Sadiq Khan, 184a.

73. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 9/95; Aurangzeb had also written to Qutbul Mulk to release Mohammad Amin; in the answer Qutbul Mulk replied, "You have given an indication regarding the imprisonment of the son of Mohammad Said....." A few Letters of Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla by J.N. Sarkar, Letter No. 12a (Qutub Shah's letter to Aurangzeb) in Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. 30, Pt. II, 1944, p. 166.

74. "I will defroy the whole expense of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand ruppees daily during the time it may be in progress." Travels in the Moghal Empire, Bernier, p. 20.

75. Badshah Nama, Waris II, p. 325; Adab-i-Alamgiri, 45a.

76. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 10/96.

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Mohammad Amin along with the family and property.[77] Aurangzeb carried out these instructions. In his letter to Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb had written that he had carried out the instructions of the Emperor and had sent the information to the king of Golkonda, that either he should release the family of the Mir Jumla or his territory would be raided by the Mughals because they were, then, under the service of Mughal Government.[78]

By the above order, though Aurangzeb was fully authorised to launch an expedition against the Golkonda,[79] being afraid of the court party's interference in his policies, Aurangzeb wrote a precautionary letter to the Emperor, "If the doors of machination of the agents of Sultan and acceptance of their presents are closed and no interference from that side is made then the entire territories, which Mir Jumla, had conquered in the Karnatak, and which are not less extensive than the kingdom of Golkonda itself with all its precious treasuries, will be conquerred and added to the Empire without

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77. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 10/96.

78. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 10/96.

79. Badshah Nama, Waris II, p. 335; Amal-i-Salih, Kambo III, p. 222.

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much difficulty."[80] Aurangzeb, again wrote a letter, in which he again, expressed his views of occupying the Karnatak and not to have any hindrence from the court; because, the King of Golkonda might approach the court and the interested courtiers might have favoured him.[81]

After these precautions Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Sultan Mohammad to release Mohammad Amin from the imprisonment of the court of Golkonda.[82] Prince Sultan Mohammad reached Nander on 7 July 1656.[83] But Qutbul Mulk did not pay attention, towards the arrival of Prince Sultan Mohammad, because he was expecting help from Bijapur.[84] Bijapuri help to Golkonda was half hearted.[85] The Bijapuri Sultan sent an army under Afzal Khan, but it never went beyond Nander.[86] After two weeks

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80. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 12/98.

81. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102.

82. Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla had made a plan of double attack on Golkonda, former marching from the north and latter from the south. Travels in India, Tavernier I, p. 167.

83. Maasir-ul-Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan, III, p. 532; Amal-i-Salih Kambo III, p. 222; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Khafi Khan I, p. 741.

84. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 14/100. Aqil Khan Razi says that Aurangzeb had declared that the Prince was going to his uncle in Bengal via Orissa. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, p. 17; Khafi Khan says that he was going there for marriage; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. I, p. 741; But Bernier declares that the horses were of an ambassador escorted to Qutbul Mulk. Travels in Mogul Empire, p. 20.

85. Adil Shah wanted to help Golkonda but due to the fear of the power of Mughals he was hesitating.

86. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 16/102, 11/97, 12/98, 15/101.

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of the departure of Prince Sultan Mohammad, Aurangzeb decided to proceed and to take the charge of operation in his own hands.[87] Realising the condition due to the regular proceedings of the Mughals, Qutbul Mulk released Mohammad Amin.[87] Upto that Qutbul Mulk had got a stern letter from the Emperor about the release of Mohammad Amin.[88] Because the king had not, yet, released the family and property of the Mir,[89] Aurangzeb ordered his son to stay near Haidrabad.[90] Obviously, Prince Sultan Mohammad encamped at Hussain Sagar. Now, Qutbul Mulk shut himself in the fort of Golkonda.[91] During the time Prince Sultan Mohammad's stay at Hussain Sagar, the policy of Qutbul Mulk was quite incomprehensible. He used to send presents to the Prince with the request of peace settlement, on the other hand, his troops frequently attacked the Mughal Camp.[92] Because Prince Sultan Mohammad was in an open place, so it was difficult

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87. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqqat No. 15/101; Amal-i-Salih Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 222.
88. Badshah Nama, Waris II, p. 336. Sadiq says that Qutbul Mulk released Mohammad Amin with his mother and some property. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, f. 185a.
89. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 208.
90. Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, p. 18; Amalih-Salih Kambo III, p. 223; Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani Sadiq Khan, f. 185a; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan I, p. 742.
91. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Khafi Khan I, pp. 742-44.
92. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, I, p. 742.

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for him to safeguard his men against these daily skrimishes. Consequently Prince Sultan Mohammad moved into the city Haidrabad.[93] Now Qutbul Mulk was in a critical position, he, now, started for negotiations heartedly, but Prince Sultan Mohammad denied his request saying that he was unable to take any decision till the arrival of his father.[94] The Golkonda forces started to attack the Prince Sultan Mohammad from the rampart of the Golkonda fort.[95] On 6th February, Aurangzeb reached Haidrabad; on the same day, the infantry men of Golkonda, ten to twelve thousand in number, began to throw rockets and bullets on his forces.[96] Qutbul-Mulk thus offered Aurangzeb with a casusbelli. Without having any rest, Aurangzeb sent his troops and elephants to face the Golkonda forces.[97] In the evening Golkonda forces were routed.

Despite the lack of heavy guns,[98] Aurangzeb decided to besiege the fort of Golkonda without further delay.[99] Consequently, without the heavy guns, which

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93. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, Sadiq Khan, p. 185b; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan, Razi pp. 18-19.
94. 'Prince Awrangzeb; A Study' by Dr S. Moinul Haq in JPHS, Vol. X, 1962, p. 201; History of Aurangzeb by Sir J. Sarkar, I, p. 233.
95. Amal-i-Salih, Mohd. Salih Kambo III, p. 223.
96. Badshah Nama, Waris II, pp. 338-9.
97. Badshah Nama, Waris II, pp. 338-9.
98. Shaista Khan and others, who were sent by the order of the Emperor to assist Aurangzeb in the expedition, also had not heavy guns with them.
99. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 81a; Travels in India, Tavernier, I, pp. 168-69.

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were too necessary to undertake such a strong fort, the siege was mere a surrounding of the fort. The skrimishes had been fought on 12 February near the wall and on 30 March 20 miles far from the fort. In both the clashes the Golkonda forces realised that to expell the Mughals was beyond their power. The Sultan, therefore, started making appeals and sending presents[100] to Aurangzeb, but the latter was determined to bring the Deccan problem to an end by conquering Golkonda.[101]

In these conditions -- Golkonda was besieged by Aurangzeb, Qutbul Mulk was making efforts to make peace with the former -- the agents of Qutbul Mulk approached Dara at the court and he, alongwith, some influential courtiers persuaded the Emperor for the peace with Golkonda.[102] In the meantime, the terms of peace were still waited from the Emperor, Aurangzeb, already, in advance, forwarded his own terms.[103] When

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100. Storia do Mogor, Manucci, I, p. 226; History of Awrangzeb, Sir J. Sarkar I, p. 237.

101. Hadiqat-ul-Alam, Mir Alam, Tr. by V.C. Bendrey, p. 93.

102. Adab-i-Alamgiri, 59a, 69b.

103. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan I, pp746-47; Tawarikh-i Shah Jahani, Sadiq Khan, pp. 187b-188a.

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being pressed harder by the besiegers, Qutbul Mulk sent his mother to settle the peace terms, on his behalf.[104] The plea behind this policy was, that Aurangzeb would consider the old women's request. Aurangzeb, as was expected, readily came to terms with the old woman. Qutbul Mulk was to pay one crore rupees as war indemnity, alongwith the elephants and jewels and he offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Prince Sultan Mohammad, son of Aurangzeb.[105] Another clause of the treaty as referred by the Travellers was the agreement that after the death of Qutbul Mulk, Prince Sultan Mohammad would be the king of Golkonda.[106]

The Emperor's order from Delhi about the immediate withdrawal of the troops took Aurangzeb by

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104. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 228.

105. Badshah Nama, Waris, II, p. 343; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Khafi Khan, I, p. 747; Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, Sadiq Khan, pp. 188b-189a; Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, Bhim Sen, p. 12a; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, pp. 19-20; Amal-i-Salih, Kambo III, p. 229.

106. Bernier, pp. 21-22; Tawernier, I, p. 169; Manucci I, p. 226. Yar Mohammad Khan says that this clause was kept secret; when Shah Jahan came to know the Truth, he dropped it from the Treaty. JPHS, Vol. 7 Pt. II, 1959, p. 91 and 97n.

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surprise because he already had agreed to patch a peace. Nevertheless, Aurangzeb carried out the Imperial farman and on 20 March 1656, ordered his forces to retire.[107] After four days, his son was married to 'Sabiah', the daughter of Qutbul-Mulk and on 10 April, she came to the camp of her husband, Prince Sultan Mohammad.[108] The king swore an oath on Quran not to disobey the Emperor in future.[109] The king had to cede Ramgir district besides the tribute.[110] A reduction of 15 lakhs was made in the first instalment of tribute at the request of his mother and the Emperor further reduced 20 lakhs.[111]

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107. Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, Sadiq, pp. 188b-189a; Amal-i-Salih, Mohd. Salih Kambo, III, p. 229; Hadiqat-ul-Alam, Mir Alam Tr. by V.C. Bendrey, p. 94.

108. Hadiqat-ul-Alam by Mir Alam, Tr. by V.C. Bendry, p.94

109. Bernier says that Rangir district was given as the dowery of the marriage of the daughter of the king with the Prince. Travels in Mughal Empire, p. 22.

110. Amal-i-Salih, Mohd. Salih Kambo, III, p. 230.

111. Khafi Khan I, p. 750; Hadiqat-ul-Alam, Mir Alam Tr. by V.C. Bendrey, p. 94.

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C H A P T E R III

AURANGZEB AND BIJAPUR

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AURANGZEB AND BIJAPUR

The Mughal Adil Shahi relations between 1636-57 had been oordial and peaceful. The Sultan of Bijapur, Mohammad Adil Shah exchanged presents and friendly despatches with Shah Jahan.[1] Shah Jahan was very much pleased with the sultan of Bijapur for his piety, impartial justice and devotion to his people in enhancing their prosperity and happiness.[2]

Under the rule of Mohammad Adil Shah (1626-56) the kingdom of Bijapur reached the apex of its glory, magnificience, prosperity, power and territorial expansion. In this period of peace with the Mughal Empire and the kingdom of Golkonda, the Sultan of Bijapur extended his dominions into the Konkan in the west, the Karnatak in the east and Mysore in the south. In 1654, he oonquered some parts of the portuguese occupied territories of Goa and Sal Sette.[3] As a result of this territorial encroachment, the boundaries of Bijapur kingdom

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1. Badshah Nama, Waris, ff. 90a, 98a.
2. Badshah Nama, Waris, ff. 101a, 113a.
3. The Portuguese in India, F.C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 308.

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reached from the Arabian sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east across the entire Indian peninsula.[4] The portion of the Ahmadnagar kingdom formally confirmed in his possession by the treaty of 1636 with the Mughal Emperor,[5] together with the wide conquests made by him in the south, made Bijapur wealthy, mighty and prosperous.[6] Shah Jahan recognised his merits and rising power by calling him 'Shah' or king.[7]

But certain acts of the Sultan displeased Shah Jahan e.g., elephant-combat practised by the Sultan out-side his fort and the confirment by him of the title of Khan-i-Khana[8] on his most important noble which were considered by Shah Jahan as initiating the regalia and the high prerogatives of the Mughal Emperor and thereby claiming a position of equality with the Emperor.[9]

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the treaty 1636[10] made Mohammad Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur,

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4. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 255.
5. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Vol. I, Pt. B., pp. 170-74.
6. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, pp. 329-31.
7. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, pp. 224-25; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 44a.
8. Basatin-us-Salatin, M. Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 342.
9. Basatin-us-Salatin, Zubairi, pp. 342-3.
10. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori, I B, pp. 170-74.

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a subordinate ally of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan.[11] And there was a friendly exchange of presents between the two. This remark arises from an incorrect meaning placed upon the term peshkash in the present context. When he says that the Sultan of Bijapur had not become a vassal king nor bound himself to pay annual peshkash. he erred in this interpretation "as presents and not as tribute."[12] Peshkash in itself was the symbol of the superiority of the king to whom it was paid; to accept the payment of peshkash means to consider one's overlordship. And according to the treaty of 1636, Sultan of Bijapur had agreed to pay the peshkash to the Emperor,[13] in other words, he had recognised the suzeraignty of the Mughal Emperor. Jadunath Sarkar's view about the 'equal ally', thereof, appears to be vague. The point that Bijapur accepted Mughal's overlordship can also be confirmed by the facts that Shah Jahan condemned Adil Shah several times because some actions of the Sultan were offensive to the Emperor, which

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11. "Bijapur was not a vassal state, but an independent equal ally of the Mughal Emperor....." History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 263.

12. The word 'peshkash' used by Lahori and Waris was used in the sense of 'presents' and not that of 'tribute.' History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 255n.

13. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori, I B. 170.

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showed that the Sultan had no respect for the Emperor's exclusive prerogatives.

Ever since 1636, Sultan Mohammad Adil Shah remained at peace with the Emperor. In 1642-43, Adil Shah had imprisoned Mustafa Khan, being afraid of his growing power.[14] This action of his displeased Shah Jahan, because Mustafa Khan was patronised by the Mughals. The Emperor took a serious note of it and Adil Shah released Mustafa Khan and restored him to his previous position and posts.[15] Shah Jahan was thus pacified. In 1648, Shah Jahan addressed Adil Shah with the title 'Shah' instead of Khan.[16] This title increased the glory of the Sultan; but Adil Shah did not realise his subordinate position and often neglected the basic principle involved in the treaty and considered himself in terms of a full sovereignty. He conferred the title of 'Khan-i-Khana' to his chief noble.[17] He began to

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14. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 308

15. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 309.

16. Aurangzeb refers to the granting of this title in a letter written to Shah Jahan in 1654, Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 44a.

17. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 342.

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observe his court etiquette and formalities on the model of the Mughal Emperor and he witnessed elephant combats in the open place outside his palace, which was considered to be the special right of a full sovereign.[18] Shah Jahan condemned Adil Shah and wrote him a letter pointing out that he had violated the peace terms.[19] At the arrival of the letter in the court, Adil Shah consulted his courtiers with regard to the answer to be given.[20] Adil Shah after having consultation with his nobles wrote back to the answer that, "They were ready to measure their swords with the blades of Hindustan."[21] On the same evening, Adil Shah consulted Afzal Khan, his premier noble, to know the real repurcussions of the war with the Mughals. Afzal Khan speculated before him the horrible consequences of war observing "Only lamentation and grief would be heard in the place of these joyous sounds. Wherever side may win, every house will mourn some deaths and the people know no peace or

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18. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 342.
19. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 343.
20. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 343.
21. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 40b.

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happiness.[22] Adil Shah realised the consequence of war by the timely warning of Afzal Khan. He withdrew the letter purported to be sent to the Emperor,[23] and redrafted a letter which changed the threatening tone of the letter into apology and further reassured him to stop the practices which had annoyed the Emperor.

Still Adil Shah did not realise that he was under the suzeraignty of the Mughal Emperor. He had given up the practice of walking forward for greeting the Imperial farman, because it was the clear symbol of the acceptance of the overlordship.[24] After coming to know the real state of affair, the Emperor wrote to Aurangzeb. The latter wrote to the former in his reply that, "This time also, his intention was to deprive himself of the honour, as on the previous occasions....as soon he heard of the arrival of the Imperial farman, he declared himself to be ill, in order to defeat the purpose of the observance of the ceremony of receiving the farman.[25]

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22. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 341.
23. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, pp. 341-42.
24. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/106.
25. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/106.

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Aurangzeb sent his hajib to the court of Bijapur to know the intention of the Sultan, but the latter was unable to explain the cause.[26]

In the peace settlement a line of demarcation was drawn between the boundaries of Bijapur, Golkonda and the territory of Mughal Empire,[27] Because of putting a check to the expansion of Bijapur in the north, the Bijapur kingdom expanded in all the other three directions. Adil Shah made alliance with the king of Golkonda to conquer Karnatak.[28] Consequently the allied forces of Bijapur and Golkonda swarmed into Karnatak. When Aurangzeb came to know of this fact,[29] he wrote to Shah-

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26. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/106.

27. Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid, Lahori, I, pp. 170-74.

28. (A letter No. 2, from Abdullah Qutub Shah to his envoy in the Imperial Court). "The truth is that Adil Shah already knew that without my help, the war with the Rayal cannot be finally won, and so he agreed with me to partition the Karnatak into 1/3 and 2/3 and thus he made me a co-partner in the destruction of Rayal and other zamindars." 'A Few Letters of Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla' by J.N. Sarkar, JBRS, Vol. 30, Pt. II, 1944, p. 161.

29. Sri Rango Rayal, the king of Karnatak, had appealed for the political assylum in the Imperial Court against the encroachment of Bijapur and Golkonda in his territories. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No.6/54. But J.N. Sarkar says that after the wrangle with the king of Golkonda, Mir Jumla, then in Karnatak made ally with Ranga Rayal and advised him to approach to the Imperial Court. Life of Mir Jumla, p. 62.

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Jahan that being the vassal kings, neither they got the permission for their expeditions nor they sent any part of the booty which they had looted in the sack of Karnatak.[30] The Emperor tried to defend him from the charge by saying that Adil Shah had sent him a rare elephant. Thereupon Aurangzeb rightly wrote that out of a vast booty Adil Shah had sent him only an elephant and he, too, really fortunate that the Emperor had accepted the rare elephant.[31] Aurangzeb thus taunted the Emperor, the elephant sent by Adil Shah was more valuable than the offer of Sri Ranga Rayal.[32]

The main cause of the raid of Aurangzeb on Bijapur was that Adil Shah was aiding and secretly instigating the Sultan of Golconda and helped him against the Mughals in the Mughal confliot with that kingdom.[33] Aurangzeb had written to the Emperor that he had sent a message to Adil Shah to stop his evil intentions and that if he continued to harbour evil intentions, he

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30. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/69.

31. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/86.

32. Sri Rayal had offered that the Emperor, "should incorporate his state into the protected territories," and ordered the Deccani Sultans not to raid his country, "he would pay fifty lakhs of huns, twenty elephants, precious jewels and annual tribute with gifts." He added in the conclusion that, "if his being an unbeliever stood in the path of this assistance.... he would embrace Islam with all his dependants." Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 1/84.

33. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 11/97.

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would be punished.[34] In the subsequent letter Aurangzeb again, referred to the same charge in the same situation to the Emperor.[35] Adil Shah was playing the double game of diplomacy in the Mughal-Golkonda conflict; on the one hand he was apologising to Aurangzeb that he had no intention of helping Golkonda, while on the other, he was making his preparations for the aid which he gave to Golkonda against the Mughals.[36] Aurangzeb was correct in conveying the above information to the Emperor, because, very soon, "the unwise Adil Khan sent a Bhatiyarah named Afzal with 15,000 horsemen to assist Qutbul Mulk, and the party had already marched 20 miles from Haidrabad.[37] But it never went beyond Nander,[38] because Aurangzeb was staying there. Realising the situation, Adil Shah called back the army, then Aurangzeb decided to proceed to Golkonda to personally supervise the operation.[39]

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34. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 12/98.

35. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/99.

36. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 15/101.

37. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 46a-b.

38. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 16/102; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 49a-b.

39. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, p. 222.

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Adil Shah had also aroused and won over Shah ji Bhosla, father of Shivaji, who had joined service in Bijapuri army after the Mughal-Bijapur Alliance of 1636, to occupy the portion of Karnatak, which was conquered by Mir Jumla, when he was the Prime Minister of Golkonda.[40] Since the joining of the Imperial service Mir Jumla's jagir in Karnatak was supposed to be the Imperial property,[41] and the intention to occupy that would be considered illegal encroachment into the territory of the Mughals. Adil Shah, also, had encouraged Shivaji to create troubles for the Mughals, in their border near Junnair.[42] Besides this, Adil Shah was fortifying his border posts and he got built a new fort near Junnair but Aurangzeb destroyed it, by his own men, and left no trace of it.[43] Consequently, it is obvious to say that, upto this time,

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40. 'Prince Awrangzeb: A Study' S. Moinul Haq, JPHS, Vol. X, 1962, p. 206.

41. Abdullah Qutub Shah was also making the efforts to retain the jagir of Mir Jumla in Karnatak. In this respect he had written the letter to Shah Jahan. 'Few Letters of Qutbul Mulk and Mir Jumla,' J.N. Sarkar, Letter No. 2(a), JBRS Vol. 30 Pt. II, 1944 p. 167.

42. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/99.

43. 'Prince Awrangzeb : A Study' S. Moinul Haq, JPHS Vol. X, 1962, p. 207.

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Adil Shah was making every effort in creating troubles for the Mughals in Deccan and was acting in a hostile manner so, as a matter of fact, there was nothing wrong in the stern attitude adopted by Aurangzeb towards Bijapur.[44]

In such a tension between the Adil Shahi Kingdom and the Mughal Empire, Mohammad Adil Shah died on 4 November 1656.[45] The Bijapuri nobles placed Ali Adil Shah II, a young man of 18 years,[46] on the throne of Bijapur as his successor. Aurangzeb reported the Emperor about the death of the late Adil Shah and the succession of his adopted son who was of obscure parentage.[47] Since Bijapur was the vassal kingdom of the Mughal Empire, it was the duty of the Bijapuri nobles, alongwith the Queen Mother, to inform the Emperor about the death of the late Sultan and to have the consent of the Emperor in the

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44. Some Historians say that Aurangzeb was too much anxious to get the order, for the conquest of Bijapur, from the Emperor (Sarkar Banarsi Prasad Saksena, A.L. Srivastava, Ishwari Prasad, etc.).
45. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, I, p. 754; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 88b, 89b; Badshah Nama, Waris, f. 118a.
46. Khafi Khan has given his name 'Sikandar' Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. I, p. 754.
47. Almost all the historians of Mughal's side accepted Ali Adil Shah II as the adopted son of Mohammad Adil Shah, whose parentage was unknown; But Mirza Ahmad Zubairi says that Ali Adil Shah II was the real son of Mohammad Adil Shah. Zubairi has given the full detailed description of Ali Adil Shah II from his life to his death. Basatin-us-Salatin, pp. 361-65; Tawarikh-i-Haft Kursi, ff. 32a-b;

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succession of the son of the late Sultan. But the nobles crowned Ali Adil Shah II without prior information to the Emperor, which was a step calculated to offend the Emperor and violate the treaty of Mughals and the Bijapuris (1636). Consequently, the information of the coronation of Ali Adil Shah II annoyed the Emperor and he ordered Aurangzeb for the necessary preparations for the expeditions against Bijapur and sent Mir Jumla, the new Prime Minister at the Imperial Court, and the successor of the late Saadullah Khan wazir, to assist Aurangzeb.[48] Mir Jumla reached Aurangabad on 16 January 1657.[49] Before his arrival in the Deccan, Aurangzeb received a letter of submission from Shivaji, in which the latter had requested to join the Mughals service if he had given the Konkan territory.[50]

Jadunath Sarkar says that the sanction of war, given by Shah Jahan to Aurangzeb was not right.[51] But his statement is not justified, because in the light of the above arguments, this step of the Emperor was quite

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48. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan I, pp. 754-55; Badshah Nama, Waris II, pp. 36b 66a; Amal-i-Salih, Mohd. Salih Kambo III, pp. 235-36; Tawarikh-i-Shah Jahani, Sadiq, p. 192a; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 118a.
49. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 92a, 118a; Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, pp. 236-37.
50. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/273.
51. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J.Sarkar Vol. I, p. 263.

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unobjectionable and the Emperor was justified in ordering Aurangzeb to conquer Bijapur.

After the arrival of Mir Jumla, the Mughal army started the expedition towards Bijapur and laid down the siege of Bidar on 28 February.[52] Bidar was a strong fort, almost impregnable. Mohammad Salih Kambo the author of Amal-i-Salih, has given the detailed description of the impragnability of the fort. He says, "Its wall is 4500 yards in circuit, and 12 yards in height. Three separate ditches each 25 yards wide and 15 yards deep, cut in the soil rock, surrounded the citadel....."[53] Perhaps, the siege might have taken much time but an incident occured. Sidi Marjan, the Qiladar of Bidar,[54] was mortally wounded by the explosion of grenades fire which fell into a chamber of gun powder and grenades while he was standing near the store, with his sons and the troops.[55] All the forces were unnerved and desaster was everywhere. Taking the advantage of the situation, the Mughals rushed into the city. Now, Sidi Marjan, sent the Keys of the fort

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52. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, p. 249; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 109b, 118b.

53. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, pp. 249-50.

54. Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, Bhim Sen, f. 11b.

55. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, pp. 250-51.

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to Aurangzeb.[56] Aurangzeb gained 12 lakhs of rupees in cash, 8 lakhs' worth of powder, shot, grain and other stores, besides 230 pieces of cannon, as the fruits of victory.[57] The for of Bidar was capitulated within 27 days and Iftikhar Khan was appointed its Qiladar.[58]

It was reported that a Bijapuri army, near Golberga,[59] was advancing towards Bidar, under Khan Mohammad Khan-i-Khana, the Prime Minister of Bijapur, to retrieve the said fort from the hands of the Mughals. Evidently, it was obvious to Aurangzeb, to send an army, to supress the advancing troops of the enemy. Consequently Aurangzeb sent a troop of 15,000, well mounted under Mahabat Khan,[60] "to punish the assembled foe and to ravage the Bijapur territory upto Kaliani in the west and Gulbera in the South leaving no vestige of cultivation in that track." The battle took place on 12 April and the Bijapuris retreated with heavy losses in men and material. The Mughals revaged the country.[61]

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56. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 365.

57. Maasirul-Umara, Shah Nawaz Khan, I, p. 202.

58. Maasir-ul-Umara, Shah Nawaz Khan, Vol. I, p. 202.

59. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 251; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 146a.

60. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 251; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 146a.

61. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 251; Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 120a, 125a-b, 126-127a.

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Now, Aurangzeb proceeded towards Kaliani, upto now, Mahabat Khan had cleared the way of the hovering enemy bands.[62] Obviously, in the beginning of May, Kaliani was besieged,[63] and by the efforts of Mir Jumla the trenches were pushed on to the edge of the ditch by 11 May 1657, despite the ceaseless firing of the garrison.[64] The Bijapuris creating troubles more and more to the Mughals, they organising themselves in the form of decoits and tried to loot the Mughal provisions, which had to more under strong escort. In consequence, once Mahabat Khan had to face them, when he was on the escort duty, as a result a fight took place between Mughals and the Bijapuris. But in the end an hour after the night fall, the Bijapuris had to escape.[65] Aurangzeb decided to undertake the Kaliani fort, as he had taken Bidar within the short period;[66] he made the siege more

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62. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 251.

63. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 365.

64. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, pp. 255-56.

65. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, pp. 255-56.

66. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi had given the duration of the capitulation of Bidar 6 years which is quite incorrect. Basatin-us-Salatin, p. 365.

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compact. But, because, Aurangzeb was intensively busy in the siege for the capitulation ofthe fort, so, he could not pay any attention to the gathering of Bijapur army, only four miles far from his own camp.[67] This state of affairs made the Bijapuris to understand that the Mughals had not much army with them, therefore, they were hesitating in taking any decisive step.[68] This realisation made them more audacious and they assembled 30,000 strong army very near to Aurangzeb's Camp.[69] Now, it was necessary to Aurangzeb to be attentive towards the enemy. So, he declared that he was going towards Bhalki, in the north-east, to look after the coming provisions. He left the tent screen around the fort and showed that he was moving with the major part of his army. In this way, he suddenly attacked the Bijapuri army on 28 May 1657.[70] Sons of Behlol Khan attacked the Mughal vanguard, which was under the commandantship of Mir Jumla and Dilar Khan. But they

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67. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 257.

68. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo III, p. 257.

69. It was too near that within one hours journey could be reached there from the camp of Aurangzeb. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 259.

70. In his letters Aurangzeb says Bijapuris generally Jangis or Habshis (Negroes). Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 112a, 147b, 154b.

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had to go back. Now the battle became general. After the blood-shed of six hours, the Bijapuris were defeated and they started to escape, in all the directions, where one found the way. The Mughals pursued them, looted every thing -- arms, slave-girls, horses, transport-cattle and all the property which was found in their camp and burnt their tents.[71] In the evening, Aurangzeb returned with the brows adorned with victory,[72] to his trenches.

The Bijapuris could not cover their dishevelled position for about two months. It was reported in the third week of July, of the gathering of the Bijapur army.[73] Aurangzeb sent a contingent to dispurse them, under the commandantship of his son, Prince Sultan Mohammad and Muazzam Khan, Mir Jumla.[74] After the journey of 48 miles, the two generals sighted the encampment of Bijapuri forces, they fell upon and defeated them. Both the Mughal generals pursued them upto Gulberga and ravaged the city, except the Shrine of the saint Gesu draz.[75]

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71. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih, Kambo, II, pp. 257-58.
72. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 258.
73. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 259.
74. Amal-i-Salih, Mohad. Salih Kambo, III, p. 259.
75. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 260.

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Within this period, the imperial forces demolished the defensive bank of one side of the fort with the scalling tower of the other side.[76] But the garrison had arisen a mud wall behind the broken tower from where they fought the assailants.[77] Though the Mughals were in terrible position; they were facing the vigorous garrison, but the Imperial forces showed much valour and destroyed.the safety wall. Although, the Bijapuris regularly, "flung on their heads lighting bombs, blazing sheets, steeped in naphtha and bundles of burning grass."[78] Being afraid of the dauntless courage and the determination of the commander of assailants, Dilawar Khan, the Qiladar of Kaliani, showed his intention. of surrendering the fort to the Mughals, on conditions that he would be permitted to leave the fort and to go to his master, the king of Bijapur, with safety.[79] Aurangzeb accepted the offer; Dilawar Khan surrendered the fort on 1st August.[80] Aurangzeb sent him the robe of honour and he started for Bijapur.[81]

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76. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 260.
77. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 260.
78. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 260.
79. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, pp. 260-61.
80. Basatin-us-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, p. 365.
81. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 261.

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Having occupied Bidar and Kaliani, known as the guardian forts of north-eastern frontier of Bijapur, Aurangzeb then marched upto Gulberga,[82] but Professor Sarkar does not mention the siege of Gulberga as mentioned by Aurangzeb himself in his Ruqaat.[83] Meantime, Adil Shahi agent approached Dara in the Court. Dara's jealousies were rising proportionally to the glories of Aurangzeb.[84] At last Dara was succeeded and sent his men to satisfy the king of Bijapur that he would not be harmed.[85] Dara was so much anxious in the safety of

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82. Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, p. 22; Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119b.

83. "When the besieged of Gulberga were thinking that they would be annexed very soon, because Bidar and Kaliani had already been annexed, the elder brother, (Dara) sent his servant to satisfy the king that he would not be annexed." Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119b;
But on the other hand Khafi Khan says that after conquering Kaliani and other forts, Aurangzeb proceeded towards Bijapur. Bijapur army came and started to harrass the Imperial forces time to time but Aurangzeb did not care for them and laid the siege. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, I, p. 756.
Probably Professor Sarkar is the follower of the views of Khafi Khan. History of Aurangzeb I, pp. 277-78.

84. Dara had also opposed this expedition when Mir Jumla was sent to assist Aurangzeb. Travels in Mogul Empire Bernier, p. 24.
Manucci is one step further, if we believe that three days before the departure of Mir Jumla Dara brought of his eighty (80) artillery men. Storia do Mogor I, p.238.

85. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119b.

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Bijapur that he called back the Emperial officers who were engaged to help Aurangzeb in this expedition.[86] This action of the elder brother created many troubles to Aurangzeb.[87]

Shah Jahan had written him the repeated letters to patch up the peace and to retire to the cantonment of Bidar as soon as possible before the rainy season.[88] Now, no step could not be more wise for Shah Jahan than the order of settling the peace with Bijapur, because the fall of Bijapur was looking forward; It had become only a question of time. It was obvious, that the conquest of Bijapur would have to cut the gordian knot of Mughal foreign policy. But Shah Jahan, instead of looking the problem as an Emperor, thought only to please Dara,[89] and ordered Aurangzeb for the withdrawal of the troops. Dara's main fear was that Aurangzeb's popularity, alongwith his power, was increasing day by day.[90] Consequently, a treaty was executed[91] and Ibrahim Khan Bachhtar, the Adil Shahi envoy in the Court, accepted the terms

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86. Aurangzeb wrote to his father that, "he (Dara) called back the Imperial Officers, who were engaged to help me in the expedition. I returned with great difficulty" Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119b; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 177a.

87. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/119b.

88. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 112b.

89. Dara had sent his servant Mulla Shaqi with some messages (isharat) and powers to accept the request of the ruler of Bijapur. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 27/159.

90. Travels in Mogul Empire, Bernier, p. 24.

91. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 113a, 157a, 198b.

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that Adil Shah would pay one crore and fifty lakhs of rupees as war indemnity and the cession of Bidar, Kaliani, Parenda, besides the forts of Nizam Shahi Konkan and Wangi.[92] At the time of the ratification of the treaty, Shah Jahan reduced fifty lakhs of rupees from the cash amount.[93] Now, Adil Shah had to pay only one crore rupees as war indemnity. Aurangzeb wanted to stay at Bijapur, to see the obligations fulfilled by the Bijapuris.[94] But, in the meantime, Shah Jahan fell ill.[95] Now, Aurangzeb had no option. He thought to gain what he could; so he sent Mir Jumla to take the charge of the fort of Parenda and Qazi Nizama[96] to receive the tribute.[97] And, he, himself, started for Bidar on 4 October. He repaired the defence of Bidar within a short period and on 18 October he marched for Aurangabad to play the major game in the final round to win over the throne.

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92. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 262.
93. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 263.
94. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, I, p. 756.
95. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 149b, 197a; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, p. 16.
96. Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kambo, III, p. 263.
97. Adil Shah sent four Padaks valued one crore rupees to the Emperor with letter of submission with the messenger. Badshah Nama, Waris, II, p. 368.

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C H A P T E R IV

AURANGZEB'S RELATIONS WITH THE CENTRE

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AURANGZEB'S RELATIONS WITH THE CENTRE

Aurangzeb's failure in the Qandhar expedition enraged Shah Jahan. He was deeply shocked at the failure of the expedition under the command of Aurangzeb, because, it tarnished the high prestige of the Emperor and the glory of the Mughal arms.[1] But Aurangzeb was not responsible for that, because the guiding hand in the final command of the expedition was that of Shah Jahan who issued all the orders and directed the operations of the campaign from Kabul and his orders were passing through the hands of Prime Minister, Sa'adullah Khan, who was with him in the battle field.[2] Nevertheless, the Emperor was not ready to give up the idea of recovery of Qandhar. So, for the third expedition Prince Dara Shikoh was appointed the chief commander. When Aurangzeb came to know this, he again expressed his desire to go to Qandhar, even under the supreme

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1. Abdul Hamid Lahori has given the cause of the Mughal failure at Qandhar and blamed Aurangzeb not for capturing and killing Abdul Aziz. Badshah Nama, II, pp. 707-709.

2. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 13b, 17b, 18b.

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command of his elder brother Dara,[3] but the embettered relations were not improved chiefly because of the machinations of the opponents of Aurangzeb who poisoned the ears of the Emperor against him and the result was that the Emperor rebuked Aurangzeb and ordered him to proceed to Deccan[4] as viceroy for the second time without further delay. The rivers of Punjab were over-flowing due to heavy rains so he could not proceed speedily. Shah Jahan sent him the orders to reach Deccan without further delay. On reaching Burhanpur, Aurangzeb became engaged in the affairs of Painghat,[5] and despite the repeated warnings of the Emperor, to go to Daulatabad as soon as possible, he could not reach there till the end of ninth month.[6] The Emperor rebuked him without realising his difficulties. In the meantime, Dara's position in the court had become very sound and also was increasing day by day and the position of Aurangzeb had become uneviable. Dara had gained a complete hold in Shah Jahan's counsels and Aurangzeb had become helpless.

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3. The Emperor's reply to his offer was harsh, "Every man can perform some work; it is a saying of the wise that one should not test (the capacity of) a person who has already been tested." Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 5/37.
4. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, I, p. 713.
5. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/51.
6. 'Prince Awrangzeb : A Study' S. Moinul Haq, Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 10, p. 123.

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He wrote a letter to his elder sister, Jahan Ara, who had great influence in the palace as well in the Court complained of his wretched flight and degenerated position.[7]

As a matter of fact the harshness and strictures shown by Shah Jahan towards Aurangzeb was due to the incessant poisoning of the ears of the Emperor by Dara and his partisans. Some historians have attributed this enmity between Dara and Aurangzeb to the sharp differences in their religious outlook. This was not precisely the point. The main cause of the enmity between the two was the ambition to capture the crown. Dara was afraid of the immense popularity of Aurangzeb.[8] He knew that the succession of Mughal throne was not governed by any rigid law made by the Emperor, because even a single Prince had to struggle for securing his succession. Probably Dara had realised the character and attainments

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7. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 2/134.

8. Due to his characteristics Aurangzeb was gaining popularity in Muslims -- in the Court as well as in the public.
Dara was too moderate in his religious thoughts, while, on the other hand, Aurangzeb was too punctual and orthodox in his religious activities.

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of Aurangzeb which had made him popular with a section of the nobility. On the other hand, Dara was haughty, overhearing and unmindful of the interests and had alienated the nobility. He had done a lot to discredit Aurangzeb and impede the progress of his work. Consequently, Dara, in order to further strengthen his position made efforts to gain the favour of Jahan Ara Begum, his sister, who had a great influence at the Emperor. No doubt, whenever, Aurangzeb was condemned she came to his rescue and saved him from the imperial wrath,[9] but her personal sympathies were always with Dara. This led to further deterioration of the relations between father and son.

The Second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb in Deccan is characterised by numerous instances of the wrangle between Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. During this period, the Emperor could not apprehend the difficulties of

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9. Right from the boyhood of Aurangzeb, the Emperor often excited by some activities of Aurangzeb, but Jahan Ara, always safeguarded him against the punishment. Even, when, she was burnt, she tried to establish cordial relations between father and son.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, I, 600-601.

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Aurangzeb in the Deccan and issued orders in ignorance of the actual conditions and circumstances of the Deccan.[10] He distrusted Aurangzeb, censored him for the factors, not of his making but a consequences of the misrule, corruption and neglect of his predecessors. The Emperor also did not realise the financial problems of the Viceroy and did not provide him with sufficient resources for the improvement and rehabilitation of the Deccan provinces. Aurangzeb suspected some hand behind the scene to influence the Emperor. That is why Aurangzeb was rebuked, unjustly reprimanded and suspected from the very beginning of his second terms of Subedari. The Emperor was also uanble to realise the condition of Aurangzeb in Deccan due to financial difficulties.[11] His Jagirs in Deccan were less productive than those of Sindh. Now his income was reduced by 17 lakhs of rupees than in comparison with

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11. Deccan was in a worst condition, there was deterioration everywhere. Shah Jahan was anxious to reform them. So he wrote letters to Aurangzeb to reform the Deccan condition very soon and to proceed to Daulatabad. Aurangzeb answered that the deterioration spread in this region for about ten years how it could be removed within a short period.
Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/57.

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the income he derived from his jagir in Multan during his governorship.[12] Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor about his difficulties that to maintain the dignity of his post in the Deccan and to keep with his responsibilities, it was necessary that he could be assigned more productive jagirs.[13] He often protested to the Emperor as to the inadequacy of his reduced income and saying that it has very difficult for him to maintain himself in that post. He wrote a letter to his sister Jahan Ara[14] expressing his grievances with regard to the above-mentioned attitude of the Emperor: "If His Majesty", wrote Aurangzeb, "Wants this devoted servant to live in retirement, then the Baglana,[15] which was previously, awarded to him as 'al-tamgha' would be sufficient, but he through his kindness to his disciple and benevolence to the humble ones, wants to honour with the assignment of the administration of a large province then he should put his affairs in a state which might not bring him into disgrace, before his colleagues and the people of the Deccan and might not thus leave him to become the target

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12. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/34.
13. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 28a, 29a.
14. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/34.
15. Badshah Nama, Waris, I, p. 192.

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of the Imperial wrath for his inefficiency.[16]

Aurangzeb's grievance, contained in this letter to his sister was based on facts because the jagir assigned to him was not productive one, it was not yielding even one-fourth of the jama and the remaining one-third of his pay, for which he was authorised to have in cash, could be realised from crown lands,[17] set apart for this purpose; obviously, he had to draw it either from the treasuries of Malwa and Surat or from the reserve funds of the treasuries of Daulatabad.[18] Aurangzeb sent this report to the Emperor with the full details of the actual 'hasil', collected from those jagirs assigned to him in Deccan and requested the Emperor to assign him better jagirs in any other province.[19] Replying in anger the Emperor ordered that he was authorised to select more productive lands from the jagirs of the mansabdars appointed with him in Deccan.[20] Aurangzeb, in his petition, again pointed out that the idea confiscation of the productive jagirs of the nobles, is not proper, because the

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16. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/ 34.
17. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 13/135.
18. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 28a, 29a.
19. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/36.
20. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/36; Adab-i-Alamgiri f. 27a.

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nobles, who would be deprived of their better jagirs might not like to serve in Deccan and this would effect the military efficiency of the Mughal forces in the region for two reasons; firstly, the Mughal Deccan was vast enough and required a huge force for its security and secondly, the region was bordered by two powerful hostile kingdoms, namely, Bijapur and Golkonda. Furthermore, this time the Maratha menace had been growing and this was also not to be ignored. Therefore, Aurangzeb rightly insisted that some good jagirs lying in other provinces be assigned to him rather than he should plan the confiscation of the jagirs of others.[21] But Shah Jahan turned down the suggestion Aurangzeb's request met with failure and he had to keep the same less productive jagirs previously assigned to him. He took only a small number of 'mahals' from the jagirdars,[22] and they in their turn naturally complained to the Emperor against the viceroy of Deccan.[23]

Similar difficulties were faced by the Mughal nobles and officers in the Deccan. The actual hasil of their jagirs also had fallen short of the jama and

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21. Ruqaat No. 12/68.

22. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/59; 12/68.

23. 'Prince Awrangzeb: A Study' S. Moinul Haq, JPHS Vol X 1962, p. 125.

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consequently they were experiencing the financial hurdles resulting in the lack of efficiency of the Mughal forces in the Deccan.[24] So this state of affairs made Deccan a deficit area. Consequently, it was also difficult for the officers, to maintain the expenses, so they complained to the viceroy that they are unable to keep the military quotas unless they were assigned the more productive jagirs in other provinces.[25] The deficit in expenditure was mostly met by the subsidies from the reserved funds in the treasury of Daulatabad;[26] this was consequently decreasing fast.[27] Aurangzeb knew this state of affairs very well with its results. In such a vast province which had two powerful kingdoms at its border, by no means friendly to the Mughals, while the province was too far from centre, it was necessary to keep some money in reserve to meet the occasional necessities.[28] Therefore, Aurangzeb suggested to the Emperor, some measures to raise the income of the subah instead of the continuity of the drain from the central Government.[29]

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24. History of Awrangzeb, Sir J.Sarkar, I, pp. 195-96.
25. 'Prince Awrangzeb : A Study', S. Moinul Haq, JPHS, Vol. X, 1962, p. 125.
26. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 28a, 29a.
27. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J. Sarkar, I, p. 181.
28. Aurangzeb expressed his grievance before a letter to his sister Jahan Ara, telling the conditions of Deccan. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/134.
29. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 4/36, 12/68.

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Aurangzeb wanted to take away the lands, yielding to the deficit, from the jagirdars and to put them in charge of state collectors. It was the fear that some of these jagirdars, would not like to stay more in Deccan after being deprived of their lands, So, for this, Aurangzeb suggested[30] that they should get their jagirs in other provinces and a portion of their salaries should be given from the treasuries of Malwa and Surat.[31] He also explained, about his own conditions to the Emperor, that his own jagir was yielding 17 lakhs of rupees less than the jagirs which he was holding in Multan when he was the viceroy of that place.[32] And, under these circumstances he was unable to make both the ends meet. But the Emperor only ordered him only to change his own jagir with the more productive jagirdars of the subedars, appointed in Deccan.[33] Naturally the mansabdars, who were going to be deprived of their lands started to express their grievances before the Emperor but Aurangzeb did not care for them changed some of his lands.[34]

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30. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 28a-b.

31. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/36; 12/68.

32. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/36.

33. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 28a.

34. 'Prince Awrangzeb: A Study' S. Moinul Haq, JPHS, Vol. X, 1962, p. 125.

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Aurangzeb's second request to allow him to draw cash salary from the Royal Treasuries of Malwa and Surat--- was totally rejected by the Emperor. Shah Jahan allowed him to select productive mahals in lieu of his cash salary; Aurangzeb selected Elichpur and Ankot[35] but the Emperor asked for their, to submit in the Imperial treasury, much revenue much higher than the actual collection.[36] Aurangzeb refused to take them and asked for the cash salary.

As a matter of fact, Shah Jahan had lost confidence in his son. So that, when he agreed to given Aurangzeb more productive mahals, he would add impossible conditions to it.[37] Often the Emperor questioned the entries in statements submitted by Aurangzeb.[38] Aurangzebs letter to Shah Jahan from Daulatabad contained some references to the orders issued by the Emperor with regard to his jagir as well as his arrangements relating/

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35. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 29a.

36. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/51.

37. In the case of Elichpur and Ankot the Emperor asked Aurangzeb to submit more revenue than collection.

38. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/59.

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to the revenue affairs of the Deccan.[39] Almost there was not a single issue upon which the Emperor had not been disagreed, however, unimportant it was and after the Emperor rebuked him.[40] Meanwhile, the Emperor got some reports, against Aurangzeb, about the parganah of Asir.[41] But the Emperor in his letter rebuked him harshly abused for his act as "unworthy to a Mussalman"---the cause was only depending upon the reports of Multafat Khan that Aurangzeb had secured forty lakh dams from the parganah;[42] and that Aurangzeb had taken more productive villages for himself and had given the less productive to others. The Emperor ordered Aurangzeb to take the lands yielding 20 lakhs less. Aurangzeb answered the order of the Emperor with full of indignation but his complaint was not justified. He had written that since his appointment he had not done such kind of work which was unworthy to a Musalman.[43] And the forty lakh dams from Bahadurpur, for which he was rebuked were not taken by him but before his arrival at Deccan, the officers of Revenue Department

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39. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/59.
40. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J. Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 199-100.
41. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 41a.
42. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 17/173.
43. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 41a.

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had transferred it from the name of Shaista Khan to his name, and, therefore, it was not the fault of Aurangzeb but of the Revenue Department.[44] In his letter to Emperor, Aurangzeb surprised, why the authorities of Revenue Department, specially the Diwan (Dastur-i-'Azam) who was incharge of affairs inquestion failed to mention this point to the Emperor that they had transferred the land in the name of Aurangzeb.[45] Aurangzeb's feelings were heartedly rebuked by these harsh words of the Emperor and in this way the gulf of wrangele between father and son widen day by day. Aurangzeb was so much disgusted that he wrote to the Emperor that perhaps the officers of Revenue Department, did not have courage to put the real facts before the Emperor.[46]

And the result of the letter was that the Emperor censured him and Aurangzeb had to regret. Aurangzeb was a honest and a hard working young man.[47] He personally wanted to supervise all the acts done by his officers. He did not want to let the officers work in their own way. Consequently, the result was that the

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44. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 17/173.

45. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 41a.

46. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 41a.

47. Storia do Mogor, N. Manucci, Vol. I, p. 220.

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Emperor was disagreed with him to every issue.[48] But despite all these things, Aurangzeb went on doing his duties. Aurangzeb's work was constantly interrupted on account of the interference from the centre. It was naturally that now Aurangzeb adopted the policy of referring the matters to the Centre,[49] however, important it might be. Multafat Khan, the Diwan of Balaghat, was in need of Rs. 50,000/- for constructing the dams in Khandesh and Berar.[50] When the Diwan asked for the amount from the Viceroy, the latter, simply, referred the case for the sanction.[51] And, obviously, he explained to the Emperor that he had taken this in accordance with His Majesty's will.[52]

There were different difficulties also which Aurangzeb had to face in Deccan. His recommendations, and appointments were also rejected by the Emperor.[53] For instance, he recommended Hushdar Khan, son of Multafat Khan for the post of Darogha-i-topkhana[54] but the Emperor instead of agreeing to the will of the Prince,

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48. 'Prince Awrangzeb: A Study,' S. Moinul Haq, JPHS Vol. X, 1962, p. 123.
49. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 41a-b, 177a.
50. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 17/73.
51. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 17/73.
52. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 177a.
53. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 27b, 28a-b, 29a.
54. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat Nos. 5/53, 7/55.

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ordered him to appoint Safi Khan.[55] And other case was of Asir. This fort was placed under the custody of Aurangzeb but when he decided to send an officer, to take the charge of the said fort, the Emperor forebaded him without giving any reason.[56] Aurangzeb wrote about this and complained to his elder sister, Jahan Ara that he was unfortunate enough to gain the confidence of the Emperor despite of his long service.[57]

The main obstacle, before Aurangzeb, in gaining the confidence of the Emperor, was the continuous poisoning of the ears of the Emperor by his opponents against him and his loyal and efficient officers. For instance, the Emperor wrote to Aurangzeb, about the maltreatment done by Malik Hussain.[58] In the answer Aurangzeb sent the expla-nation defending Malik Hussain that he was not such a kind of man and the facts were not properly related to the Emperor by the interested persons.[59] A little later, Aurangzeb received an order from the Emperor, according to which Malik Hussain was recalled to the

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55. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 2/58.
56. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 27/159.
57. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 27/159.
58. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 3/8.
59. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqqat No. 3/8.

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court and given some promotions in his rank.[60] Aurangzeb could easily understand the motive of the central Government. Evidently, in a letter to Jahan Ara, he expressed his feelings, against this kind of orders saying that "if this practice of promotions to theofficers higher than they deserve, continued, what would be then. The able nobles would not like to continue in the service and this might cause his hinderence in his work.[61] But there was none to hear the grievances of Aurangzeb or to understand the reality of the difficulties, which Aurangzeb had to face.

Meanwhile, an incident occured which provided a good opportunity to the opponents of Aurangzeb, to widen the gulf of wrangle between the father and his son. It was the matrimonial alliance between Aurangzeb and Shuja. The elder son of Aurangzeb, Prince Sultan Mohammad, was to be married with the daughter of Prince Shuja; while the elder son of Prince Shuja, Daniyal, was to be wedded with a daughter of Aurangzeb.[62]

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60. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 6/11.

61. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 27/159.

62. Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, Aqil Khan Razi, pp. 15-16.

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Probably Shah Jahan did not like this that his two sons allied with matrimonial relations among themselves. Therefore, he asked Aurangzeb to arrange for the marriage of his son from somewhere else. Aurangzeb showed his helplessness in breaking the promise already made by him to his brother Shuja with regard to engagement of Prince Sultan Mohammad, however, he promised never to arrange such a marriage in future.[63] But the Emperor was not satisfied by the plea taken by Aurangzeb and out of resentment he deprived the later of Asir.[64] This action of the Emperor hurted Aurangzeb very much and out of frustration he again complained to Jahan Ara, in a letter and wrote that probably he had been deprived of the fort of Asir because of his refusal of the will of the Emperor. It is as so he was helpless and had no option.[65]

Besides this, there were some other causes also, but the most important cause for the further widening gulf of friction between the two was the diplomatic relations between the Emperor Shah Jahan and the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda.[66] On reaching Burhanpur, Aurangzeb's first action was to send two envoys Ja'afar Khan and Abdul Latif to the courts of

63. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, No. 27/159.
64. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 27/159.
65. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 27/159.
66. History of Aurangzeb Sir J. Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 202-203.

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Bijapur and Golkonda.[67] Alongwith he had also written to the Emperor that the Imperial dealings with both the courts should be through the viceroy of the Deccan.[68] But Shah Jahan ignored the request of his viceroy of Deccan; Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb wrote repeatedly to the Emperor but Shah Jahan did not care for the expostulation of his Subedar of Deccan.[69] Evidently, the dealings of Bijapur and Golkonda, with the Central Government, were directly and the result was that the envoys of Bijapur and Golkonda used to stay continuously in the Imperial court, where they could get easily the patronage of Dara and his partisans.[70]

The starting cause in the rupture of father and son, in the diplomatic relations, was the encroachment of Bijapur and Golkonda States towards Karnatak.[71] Being afraid of the Deccani states, the king of Karnatak, Sri Ranga Rayal, sent a petition to Aurangzeb, asking for the Imperial protection against Bijapur and Golkonda.[72]

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67. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 2/50
68. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 6/54, 2/50; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 24b.
69. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 2/50, 6/54.
70. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 4/119b.
71. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 6/54.
72. J.N. Sarkar says that Sri Ranga Rayal sent the petition for the asylum in the Imperial Court at the advice of Mir Jumla. Life of Mir Jumla, p. 66.

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Aurangzeb referred the case to the Emperor with recommendations.[73] Evidently, the Emperor ordered Aurangzeb to send his envoy to Chandergiri, the Capital of Karnatak: Aurangzeb sent Mohammad M'Umin to his court;[74] but in the meantime, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda approached the Emperor and were succeed in gaining the permiss on to sieze his territories.[75] This permission was given in lieu of precious presents from the Sultans to the Emperor. Consequently, now, the Emperor started to criticize Aurangzeb of sending Mohammad Mumin to the coutt of Sri Ranga Rayal,[76] the Emperor had completely foregotten that the envoy, by the viceroy was sent by his own order. In this way the Emperor rebuked Aurangzeb that he was frightening the Sultans and wanted from them the costly presents.[77]

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73. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat Nos. 1/84, 5/86; Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 84b, 85a-b, 192b.

74. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 3/86; Sarkar says that at the time of despatching Mohd. Mumin to Karnatak, Qutub Shah warned not to hinder him, with a clear hint that the proposed intervension could be brought off. History of Aurangzeb I, p. 213.

75. 'Prince Awrangzeb: A Study' by S. Moinul Haq, JPHS Vol. X, 1962, p. 196.

76. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 3/8.

77. Ruqaat-i-Alamgir, Ruqaat No. 3/8.

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And again the expedition against Golkonda, made the gulf of wrangele, more widen. The agents of Golkonda in the Court, alongwith some advisers of the Emperor presented before him, the account of the wealth, described in a highly exaggerated tone.[78] Accordingly Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzeb to send all the booty to the court, Aurangzeb's feelings were injured because he had no intention to retain any thing from the booty except what had been assigned to him. Originally the Emperor's order, about the peshkash of Qutbul Mulk, was[79] that the jewels and elephants would go to the central court while the cash might be kept by the Subedar of Deccan. But now, the Emperor had forgotten the reality of facts -- Aurangzeb borrowed twenty lakhs of rupees to meet the expenses of the expedition -- forced him to submit the whole looty (cash and kind) in the Imperial treasuries of Daulatabad. Thus, Aurangzeb was left poorer by twenty lakhs of rupees.[80] And because the Emperor was believed that Aurangzeb and his son had received costly presents from Abdullah Qutub Shah, took a further step censuring Aurangzeb.[81]

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78. Sarkar, I. pp. 243-44, History of Aurangzeb,

79. Adab-i-Alamgir, ff. 84b, 190a-b.

80. Adab-i-Alamgiri, f. 84b, 190a-b.

81. History of Aurangzeb by Sri J. Sarkar, P, p. 244.

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Aurangzeb was so much disgusted from the Emperor by these reprimandations and censurenesses that he wrote to Mir Jumla, who was then Prime Minister of the Imperial Court, instead of Emperor. In his letter to Mir Jumla Aurangzeb made it clear that the presents taken by him were of the low prices and unworthy to be sent to the Emperor.[82] And if he wanted to conceal the presents he would not have accepted them in the presence of Mir Jumla and other nobles of the Imperial court, who were posted in Deccan.[83] In the same letter Aurangzeb had shown his helplessness in the Deccan that realising the facts that the Emperor had no confidence in his viceroy in Deccan, the Deccani States did not pay attention in carrying out his orders.[84]

The same case was done in the Bijapur kingdom. When Bijapur Kingdom was to supress and the Sultan of Bijapur was ready to pay tribute and to realise the terms imposed by Aurangzeb, the envoy of Bijapur approached Dara

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82. In fact, Aurangzeb was reluctant to accept these presents because of their poor quality. However, at the special request of the Sultan's envoy and a clear understanding that their prices would not be deducted from the amount of the tribute, he accepted them.
83. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 192b. 193; History of Aurangzeb Sri J. Sarkar, I? p. 244.
84. Adab-i-Alamgiri, ff. 84b-85b, 192b.

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in the Imperial Court,[85] and the Emperor without looking the problem as a king ordered Aurangzeb to leave Bijapur, simply to please Dara. And in making peace with Bijapur, Dara thought, the double gain; to check up the increasing power and popularity of Aurangzeb and to gain much wealth from the Sultan of Bijapur.[86]

The result of the above correspondence between father and son can be understood easily. As a matter of fact, it may be concluded that there was a group in the central court, which was constantly working, against Aurangzeb.[87] The object of the group was not to leave, even a single instance by which the gulf of wrangle may be lessen between father and son. So, they efforted upto the last to make Emperor displeased with his son.[88] No doubt, Dara was the leader of the group. Jahan Ara was also on the side of Dara, though she often came the rescue of Aurangzeb against the Imperial wrath but her personal sympathies were always with Dara.[89] The method of the party in defaming Aurangzeb was very subtle and preplanned. The result was, that the Emperor, himself, acted against Aurangzeb's views. Some times he was

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85. Aurangzeb complained his father about the secret relations of Dara and Adil Shah of Bijapur. Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Ruqaat No. 4/118b.
86. 'Prince Awrangzeb? A Study', Dr S. Moinul Haq, JPHS Vol. X, 1962, pp. 210-11.
87. Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda, Yar Mohammad Khan, JPHS, Vol. 7 Pt. II, 1959, p. 96.
88. Shah Jahan's Relations with Golkonda, Yar Mohammad Khan, JPHS Vol. 7 Pt. II, 1959, p. 96.
89. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Khafi Khan, Vol. I, pp. 600-660.

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so much displeased with Aurangzeb that he asked prince Shuja to accept the Subedari of Deccan.[90] Consequently, the efficiency of the administration was failed and the leading noblemen were also bound to enter in a group according to their own choice, whether it was anti-Aurangzeb group or pro-Aurangzeb group. But it is hardly to understand that Shah Jahan, being a shrewd statesman, why he was unable to understand the danger of the policy and why he was unable to check this evil practice. No doubt, the Emperor wanted the succession of Dara, and there was none to oppose his this will, but the method, which he adopted in securing the succession of crown prince was quite wrong.[91] By this method the practice of jealousy and rivalry sprang between the brothers, and the Emperor watered this rivalry and jealousy instead of rooting it out. Subsequently the feelings thus aroused, among his sons because the prominent cause of war of succession, which was fought in the life time of the Emperor with heartlessly and unscrupulously.

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90. Adab-i-Alamgiri, 28a, 32a and b.

91. The Emperor had created much difference between Dara and his other three sons. Dara, got the jagir of Hisar-Firoza, a symbol of the Prince Regent. He could sit before Emperor, in his presence, in the court because the Emperor had got built an small throne for him. The Emperor had assigned him more valuable mansab than the collective mansabs of all the three brothers.

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C O N C L U S I O N

Aurangzeb's Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan was a period of utmost significance in the reign of Shah Jahan. It was indicative of the future trends of Aurangzeb's policies which he followed in his reign. It demonstrated in administrative genius and military talents of Aurangzeb to its fuller extent. Aurangzeb's tenacity of purpose, his religous outlook, capacity to choose men of extraordinary calibre, courage, dash and daring and to utilise them to suit his best purposes were exhibited to his friends and foes alike.

The period is important in many respects. Aurangzeb's deep interest in cherishing the peasantry and boosting the cultivation as well as his reforms in the revenue, civil and military administration, his attention to minute details of government, his care to attend to the genuine needs and grievances of his nobles and subordinate officers and his main careers in keeping the army well-equipped, contented and in the state of readiness for combat are amply shown in this period.

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As regards the Deccan Sultanates, Aurangzeb was the champion of the forward policy aimed an invasion and annexation of the Deccan states. Though the provocation and cause of fighting might have been provided by Golkonda and Bijapur, yet Aurangzeb after launching an attack, sought to carry it to its logical outcome of annexation. In this venture, he was guided by considerations of furthering his own interests because the annexation of Golkonda and Bijapur could have finished a task which taxed the ~~analysis~~ energies of the Empire since the reign of Akbar and would have added to the prestige and power of Aurangzeb immensely. He would have risen in the estimation of the Emperor and the nobility and his chances as the future Emperor of India would have brightened. As against this, his elder brother and chief opponent, Dara Shikoh would have been slighted and outshown. When Shah Jahan made peace with both these states at a time when Aurangzeb was making his truimphant advance to final victory, Aurangzeb expressed slightful indignation at this turn of his fortune and clearly suspected the hand of Dara in ~~defeating~~ frustrating his plans and depriving him of the prize of victory.

Whenever Aurangzeb might have thought of the implicit hand of Dara Shikoh in the acceptance of the peace offers made by the rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur,

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when their kingdoms were invaded by Aurangzeb in 1656 and 1657 respectively, the pact remains that Shah Jahan himself was unwillingto approve a policy aimed at out-right annexation of the Deccan Sultanates because of the repercussions of such a policy would have been serious. The vast territories of these kingdoms would have entailed a liability which the Emperor was not prepared to shoulder at that time. The Mughal Deccan was a financial liability and was maintained out of the surplus income from the treasuries of Malwa and Su+rat. The allurement to Aurangzeb in the policy of annexation came out of the urge to out-shine his brothers in military adventurers and exploits and to augment his resources and military contingents from the plunder of his conquests.

Aurangzeb's invasion of Golkonda in 1656 was motivated by substantial causes. The treaty of 1636 had rendered a protected tributory state bound to a tribute of two lakhs of huns per annum. The tribute had fallen in arrears and was not paid despite repeated demands. Moreover the rise in the exchange value of huns entailed a further demand of Rs. 20 lakhs. The Sultan of Golkonda put up excuses and was unwilling to make payments.

The affairs of Mir Jumla and the conquests of the

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Karnatik by the ruler of Golkonda and the imprisonment of Mir Jumla's family by Qutub Shah provided the grounds of hostilities. The invasion of Golkonda followed. Haidrabad fell and Golkonda was besieged. Qutub Shah sued for peace, agreed to pay tribute and war indemnity but Aurangzeb coveted the whole kingdom and it was Shah Jahan's timely order for peace to the Prince that saved Golkonda from his agressive designs.

Aurangzeb's action in Golkonda was an instance of excess, greed and self aggrandise ment that he insisted on wholesale annexation even after the Mughal objectives in the invasion of Golkonda in 1636 had been achieved.

As regards Aurangzeb's invasion on Bijapur in 1657 there seems to be a valid case to justify Aurangzeb's involvement in the affairs of that kingdom. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's views on that issue need further examination. He observes, "The treaty of 1636 had turned the king of Bijapur into a friendly ally of the Emperor of Delhi, but left his sovereignty unimpared. He had not become a vassal prince, nor bound himself to pay annual tribute."[1] Again

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1. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J. Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 253.

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he writes, "The war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal state, but an independent and equal ally of the Mughal Emperor, and the latter had no lawful *right to confirm or question the succession of* Bijapur."[2]

This statement of Jadunath Sarkar seems to be inconsistent with facts. It contradicts even his own version of the terms of treaty of 1636. While giving clause I of the treaty he writes, "Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, must acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor and promise to obey his orders in future."[2] Thus Sir Jadunath Sarkar contradicts his own interpretation of the terms of the treaty of 1636.

As a matter of fact, Adil Shah, by that treaty, had acknowledged the Mughal Emperor as his suzerain ~~suzerainty~~ which necessitated Mughal recognition of succession to his throne after his death and so Aurangzeb could object to the succession of Ali Adil Shah II without seeking confirmation from the Mughal Emperor. Moreover, the disturbances in the Karnatak and ~~feints~~ lapses of administration in Bijapur on the occasion of a boy king afforded

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1. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p263.
2. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p.38.

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opportunity to Aurangzeb to interfere in the affairs of Bijapur.

But the ruthless way in which the Bijapuri territory was conquered and plundered and Aurangzeb's wish to annex the whole kingdom were wholly unjustifiable.

The second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb provides numerous examples of the bitterness of relations between Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. In fact, Shah Jahan did make little efforts to appreciate the difficulties of the situation which Aurangzeb had to face in the Deccan. We find that Shah Jahan's mind was too much obsessed with Aurangzeb and that is why his requests and recommendations were too often overruled. The outcome of this wrangle between the father and the son manifested itself in the ruthless manner in which the war of succession was fought.

Thus the second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb in the Deccan was a momentous period in the history of Mughal India.

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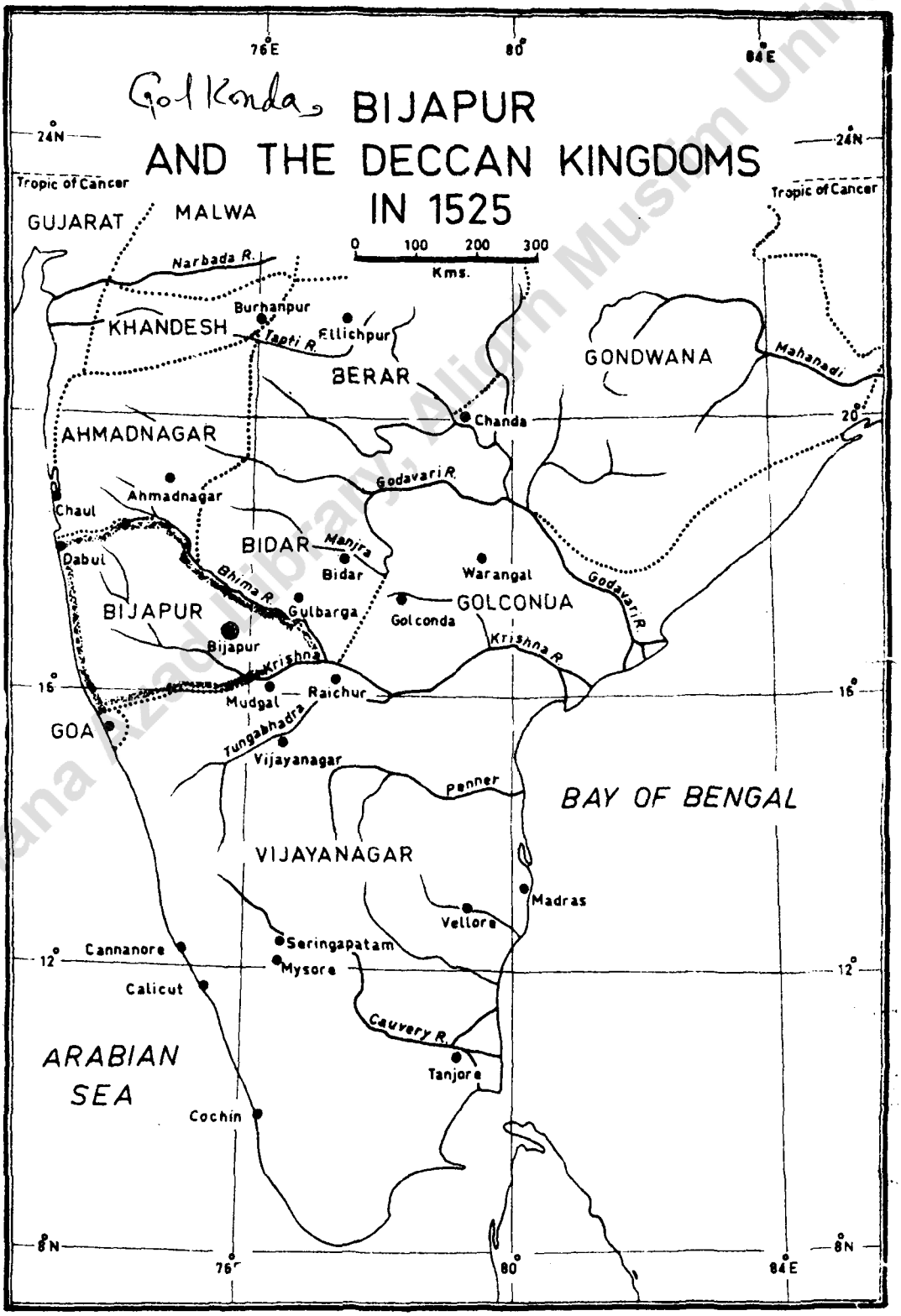

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